

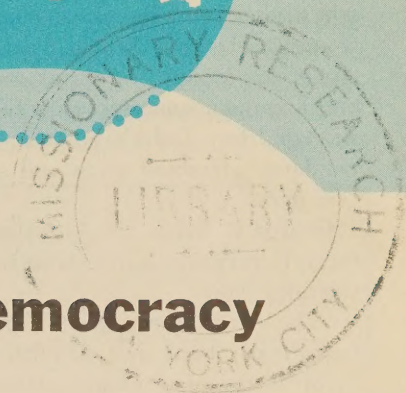
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# background

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



## INDIA: A Pattern for Democracy in Asia

In the waning light of a day more than 5 years ago, an assassin's bullet ended the life of the father of independent India. A frail man of peace with sparse grey hair, spectacles perched on the bridge of his nose, Mahatma Gandhi, who made nonviolence a potent political weapon, fell mortally wounded in a garden in Delhi. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi's lieutenant and comrade through years of struggle for India's freedom, was at his side when he died.

To India, Gandhi was a saint, revered by millions. "We called him *Bapu*," said Nehru, "Father of the people."

Gandhi's spiritual leadership extended far beyond India's borders. No man of peace of this century was so universally loved and respected. In all parts of the world millions of people mourned his passing.

His greatest memorial, however, is free India. Armed only with his political genius and courage, and his unshakable beliefs in what was right, he provided the vital leadership that brought the largest republic into the world.

This slight man, dressed in white homespun, quickened the pulse of many Americans who were reminded of the days of our own struggle for independence. He awakened a sympathetic interest in India and its problems that carries over into the present.

*A farmer examines one of the improved, steel-tipped plows which have increased farm production in India.*

### *U.S. Interest in India*

The universality of Gandhi is only one link in the ties between India and the United States. We have a longstanding interest in the Indian people which today is being given practical form by the various programs our Government is carrying out in that country.

We have drawn closer both intellectually and spiritually. For many years Indian students





have studied in American colleges; Indian travelers have toured and lectured in the United States; and many American churches have been active in India. Today, Americans are working with the Indian Government in its drive to better conditions of life for the Indian people.

The events of the past decade have heightened our interest and increased our knowledge of the country. During World War II, thousands of American troops were stationed on Indian soil and became acquainted with the people and their way of life. India's postwar struggle for independence attracted wide and sympathetic attention here.

George V. Allen, our Ambassador at New Delhi, recently reviewed our interest in India. The Ambassador said:

"The broad pattern of U.S.-Indian relations has already been well established. That pattern involves growing understanding and friendship between the two countries and closer, more fruitful cooperation in international affairs. . . .

"There is in the United States today an ever-growing understanding of India's problems and sympathy for India's courageous efforts. . . . I think you may find a quickened interest in India, and an even stronger determination, on our part, to clear up any misunderstanding and to reaffirm by word and deed our abiding friendship for India."

In the 20th century the economic and political health of one country is the concern of all countries. When an Indian farmer goes to the polls, his vote registers not only in New Delhi but in Washington and Moscow as well.

### *India's Elections*

Last year India passed a political milestone. Its first national elections were held between October 1951 and February 1952. They were spread out over several months because of climatic conditions and communications difficulties in various parts of the country.

Although elections had been held in British times based on a limited franchise, India's recent elections were the first to be based on universal adult suffrage. Peasants, villagers, and women who had never before been permitted to vote swarmed to the polls to cast their ballots. Over 100 million people participated.

Prime Minister Nehru's government was returned to office. His Congress Party polled 45 percent of the popular vote, won 363 of the 489 parliamentary seats, and gained control of all but one of the state assemblies.

Two storm signals, perhaps related, were raised by the elections. The voting showed impatience with the gap between the Government's program and its accomplishments. Secondly, the strength of the Communists was significant. Although the size of the total Communist vote was not great in relation to total votes cast, its concentration in particular areas is disturbing.

Our aim is to help India and its neighbors become strongholds of democracy in a turbulent Asia. We want to see the Indian people achieve that progress and well-being which are so closely related to the preservation of the free world.

The people of India are intent on making democracy work. We can give them important help. If we assist the Indian people to make a success of their efforts, they will add much to the strength of that freedom on which we all depend for survival.

If democracy succeeds in India, all of South Asia is buttressed; if it fails, the outlook in Asia will be very bleak indeed.

## **India—Its Politics and People**

The ancient land of India has over the centuries been the scene of many changes. During much of the last 200 years, the country was the brightest jewel in the British Empire.

Throughout the period following the First World War, the Indian National Congress Party, under Gandhi and Nehru, led the campaign for Indian independence. This was finally achieved on August 15, 1947, when British India was partitioned into the two nations of India and Pakistan.

Today, India is a federal republic governed through a parliamentary system similar to that of Great Britain. The Government is run by a Cabinet, headed by a Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is selected by the President of India, and the other members of the Cabinet are appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and his Cabinet, who are responsible to the Parliament, have the duty of



governing the country and planning programs for its economic development. If the Parliament rejects Cabinet recommendations or does not support a crucial Cabinet decision, the Cabinet must resign and new general elections are held.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi's political heir, has been India's Prime Minister since India achieved its independence. Nehru has been a guiding force in the Nationalist movement for over 30 years, a number of which he spent in prison for his activities in the drive for independence. Although there are many religions and many political

parties in India, most Indians agree that, of all their leaders, Nehru most nearly expresses the aspirations of the majority of the Indian people.

India has the world's longest written constitution. Some of it—especially the sections covering the bill of rights—draws heavily on U.S. constitutional theory. Although the Indian Constitution provides that the State Governments exercise wide powers, powers not specifically granted the States or shared by the States and the Central Government rest with the Central Government.

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of





Nehru and India's former Ambassador to the United States, has pointed out other areas of common interest between India and the United States:

"Our leaders found many parallels between their struggle for freedom and yours, and were inspired by the example of Abraham Lincoln, the writings of Jefferson and Paine, and the great truths contained in the Declaration of Independence. The earnestness and sincerity of your pioneers helped us in the pursuit of a great ideal, just as your Constitution has influenced our legislators in the drafting of the Constitution of the Indian Republic."

### *The Country*

India's boundaries encompass almost every type of climate and topography and a multitude of differing peoples, languages, and religions. The extreme contrasts of these elements and the force with which they act upon each other have determined the pattern of Indian life. The vast majority of the people are very poor.

India draws its institutions from its own ancient culture, but has been heavily influenced by foreign cultures, notably British. The traditions of Anglo-Saxon common law prevail in the Indian judiciary. English is an official language and is widely used in India.

Geographically, India lies between the Communist guerrilla warfare in Southeast Asia and the explosive nationalism in the Near East. To its north are Communist China and Communist-controlled Tibet. The Republic's foreign and domestic policies take these factors into account.

The country is the size of Western Europe but contains 360 million people, one-sixth of the human race. An annual population increase of 4 million points to one of India's major problems. It must produce more food if it is to keep alive and free.

The Indian subcontinent was the home of one of the earth's oldest civilizations. Settled farming, the use of metals, and domesticated animals were known in the northwest as early as 3000 B. C. Its primary religion, Hinduism, is the oldest in practice today.

India's cultural contributions to the rest of the world have been notable. For example, it contributed to man's advance by inventing the concept of "zero" in Arabic numerals. Buddhism

originated in India, and the spread of that religion throughout Asia carried many aspects of India's secular culture with it.

India's literature enjoyed a "golden age." The *Vedas*—the great sacred books of knowledge of ancient India—were opened to the West when Sanskrit was discovered by European scholars in the 18th century. The *Vedas* consist of an elaborate body of religious ritual and legend. Through many centuries they were passed down by word of mouth before being put in writing some 10 centuries before Christ.

This literature is rich both in poetry and in proverbs, fables, romances, and fairy tales, and it has contributed much to occidental literature. The best-known modern Indian writer, the poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore, won the Nobel prize for literature in 1913.

Indian music is based on a 7-note scale like our own but is without chords. Harmony has not been developed, and the purely melodic treatment invites improvisation. Of all oriental music, Indian is the most easily understood by Westerners.

The basis of Indian art is symbolism. India's many magnificent temples symbolize the fundamental religious feeling of the people. The temple was a development of Buddhism—first fought and later adopted by Hinduism.

The Muslims brought Saracenic art to India, where it blended with that of the Indians. The most striking example of this combination is the marble Taj Mahal, regarded by some as the most beautiful building in the world. Although much in Indian art was drawn from other cultures, it remains uniquely Indian in execution.

### *Food and Famine*

Insufficient food production is the taproot of the country's deep poverty. Higher food production will not only relieve hunger but also free more money received from exports to buy goods which contribute to industrial growth.

Grain makes up over two-thirds of the Indian diet. Sugar and vegetable oils account for most of the remainder. Natural disasters have kept food grains in short supply. The food grain deficit in 1951 was about 5 million tons, with a smaller deficit in 1952. Only large imports and well-organized rationing have averted famine. The slight improvement in 1952 permitted the



removal of some controls in certain regions of the country.

One basic reason for the food shortage is the lack of water. This is due to the uncertain monsoon rains and inadequate storage and irrigation facilities. There are in addition many contributing factors: cultivation is not intensive enough; there is insufficient use of modern agricultural equipment and methods; and the annual increase of population far outstrips the increase in food-producing acreage.

Precious land is being lost each year through erosion and other causes. An oppressive system of tenancy plays an important part in underproduction. In some instances rents total 50 to 60 percent of the produce of the land, leaving the tenant little incentive to step up his output. Landholdings are small, further contributing to inefficient farming.

India is working hard to combat the food shortage. Land use is being increased through irrigation and reclamation. One project, using heavy equipment to grub out a tough, deep-rooted grass which ruins fields, is adding a quarter of a million acres yearly to cultivation.

An effort is being made to spread knowledge and use of better farming practices. Increased incentives for the individual producer are also getting attention. State governments are making tenancy terms more beneficial to the tenant.

The problem of the division of land into tiny plots is being attacked both by legislation and by urging farmers to combine their fields voluntarily. Laws enacted in several states in the past 2 or 3 years require landlords to turn over their rent-collecting rights to the state in return for fair compensation. There is still much to be done, however, for a more equitable adjustment between landlord and tenant.

#### *U.S. Loan to India*

These countermeasures have helped but have not solved the food deficit. In 1951 following a series of natural disasters which threatened the nation with famine, India requested American assistance in obtaining 2 million tons of grain. The Congress responded with the India Emergency Food Aid Act of 1951, which extended to India a loan of \$190 million to purchase grain in the United States.

In addition to the loan, many individual Americans and groups contributed personal gifts of money and grain. Barriers of distance and culture were swept aside. School children contributed their pennies. Many farmers brought in sacks of grain off their own land. Organizations solicited their members for funds to help the Indian people.

These actions by Government and people have brought a harvest of good will to America. Former Ambassador Chester Bowles said that wherever he went in India "people have come up to me and expressed their gratitude" for this assistance.

### **The 5-Year Development Program**

India has adopted a 5-year development plan to relieve its crushing economic and social problems. The plan is in no sense considered a cure-all. It is scaled to moderate goals that can reasonably be attained with some outside assistance.

Over four-fifths of the Indians live in villages and more than three-fourths work the land. The emphasis of the 5-year plan is understandably on agriculture. It aims to boost food production in cultivated regions and to develop untapped resources. The new projects include land reclamation, irrigation, digging wells and canals, and harnessing major rivers to prevent floods and to provide hydroelectric power.

The plan touches many other aspects of Indian life. It calls for greater industrialization, rehabilitation of transport and communications, and development of natural resources. Other goals are improved health, housing, education and social welfare, resettlement of displaced persons, and better labor-industrial relations.

Next to Japan, India is the most industrialized Asian country and ranks eighth in the world. Its Tata Iron and Steel Works are the largest in Asia. Yet India is far behind in the degree of industrialization needed for a healthy economy. For example, India produces only about 1.5 million tons of steel a year, or approximately 1.5 percent of U. S. output.

Much of India's present industrial capacity is used to make consumer goods, such as cotton cloth, matches, sugar, salt, and paper. Cotton textile manufacturing is India's largest industry. Iron



and steel, cement, and chemicals are the main heavy industries. Jute manufactures are among the leading exports, and the largest single source of foreign currency for purchase of imports.

### *Industrial Outlook*

The industrial portion of the plan covers both the private and the public sectors. Most of India's present industry is in private hands, although the extensive Indian railway system is Government owned and managed. Under the plan certain key industries relating to defense and public utilities will also be under Government control.

India wishes to attract foreign investment for the development of industries which it considers necessary for its economic growth. Evidence of this interest lies in such concrete actions as the recent agreements for the erection of oil refineries by British and American firms. These agreements guarantee against nationalization for at least 25 years and offer other concessions indicating a friendly policy toward foreign capital.

The Indian Government is emphasizing the full use of present industrial capacity along with the

construction of some additional plant facilities. It will assist certain basic industries and will enter essential industries if private capital holds back. However, general industrial development is considered the responsibility of private capital. One major difficulty in industry is the replacement of overworked and wornout equipment, a process which the Government has not subsidized.

The Government seeks to increase the production of basic commodities like steel, cement, and chemicals and further development of power and transportation. By 1955-56 these programs should provide the foundation for a more diverse development.

India's railroads deteriorated under the heavy burden of wartime traffic, and the 5-year plan calls primarily for rehabilitation rather than expansion. The completion and maintenance of present highways have taken priority over construction of new roads.

The development and expansion of existing rural cottage industries, mainly handicrafts, are expected to increase supplementary incomes for agricultural areas. The Government has encouraged cooperatives and grants financial, procurement, and marketing assistance to organized cottage industries.



*The three R's at a village school in India.*



Of the 40-45 percent of the population gainfully employed, two-thirds of the workers are engaged in agriculture and related occupations. It is estimated that less than 1.5 percent of the population—some 5,000,000 workers—are engaged in factory-type industrial production.

Living and working conditions for labor are poor. Housing is one of the most serious difficulties. Inadequate equipment, poor lighting and ventilation, crowded shops, and scant job training are the daily routine for most workers. Employment turnover is high, and there is much seasonal labor.

The Government is aware of the severity of these problems and plans to improve housing, industrial health, education, factory inspection, and other social factors. A system of technical training was introduced by the Government and the States in 1946, and apprenticeship training was started in factories in cooperation with private industry. New housing for industrial workers is included in the 5-year plan and is already under construction. India's workers can now look forward to better living and working conditions.

Labor unions have made slight headway with Indian workers, although factory workers are relatively well organized. Two million of the 5 million in this category are said to be organized. Among the 160 million workers in all pursuits, unions claim a membership of about 3 million. Organization has made its greatest progress in transportation and manufacturing, and its principal strongholds are in the large industrial centers.

Effective trade-union organization has been retarded because the major unions are divided along political lines and affiliation is largely political rather than economic. The limited education among workers and their poverty have attracted labor leadership from outside, rather than from within, labor's ranks. Many of these leaders are political figures and often hold positions of leadership in political parties.

At present about 80 percent of the people of India cannot read or write. The low level of education is part of the unfortunate circle of poverty, ignorance, and ill health that must be broken in order to make any important progress. The literacy rate is steadily rising, thanks to vigorous Government action.

The educational part of the 5-year plan calls for a school in or near each of India's 500,000 villages. Another scheme is the establishing of rural universities to keep the most promising youth interested in village problems.

The United States exchange-of-persons program brings many Indian students to this country for technical and professional training. Other Indians come here on private funds for advanced study. Many are also studying in other parts of the world. All of these students are concentrating on bringing the skills and experience of other peoples to bear on India's present problems. But the scale of these activities is small in comparison with the vast size of the country and its educational needs.

The status of women in Asia is rising, and India is no exception. Here again a slow process is at work, but the results have been promising in recent years. Slightly more than half the voters in the recent general elections were women. Efforts are being made to legalize divorce and to allow women to inherit family property.

The average life expectancy of a new-born baby in India is 27 years; in Japan it is 58, and in the United States it is 68. This single statistic is reason enough for the country's continuous interest in the improvement of health facilities.

Less than 60,000 doctors and 10,000 nurses serve India's millions. The long-range objectives in this field are the tripling of the number of doctors and the training of 700,000 nurses. American dispensaries and hospitals in India, most of which are run by mission societies, are helping to increase the number of nurses through training courses.

The rehabilitation of displaced persons after the partition of India and Pakistan has been a major problem for both countries. Over 8 million people who would not or could not live in Pakistan packed whatever belongings they could carry and swarmed across the border into India. The task of settling these people has created many difficulties.

## **India and the World**

The basic foreign-policy objectives of India are similar to those of other free nations. India believes in opportunity, freedom, and justice for all peoples. On most of the fundamental issues in



the United Nations, India has clearly indicated its preference for the methods of the free world.

In 1951, Mme. Pandit, speaking to Americans, stated her country's foreign-policy position very explicitly:

"This policy is pro-U.N., pro-free nations. We desire to maintain our constitutional secular democracy against any aggression upon our freedom and liberty from within or without our borders. We deplore the word 'neutrality' as applied to us in our situation. We are members of the U.N.; we stand with you for freedom, equality, orderly justice and for a world at peace. In recent sessions of the U.N. General Assembly we voted as you did 38 times out of 51, abstaining 11 times and differing from you only twice.

"We stand for India, as an equal member of the family of nations, with other free and independent nations. We oppose every form of imperialism—whether economic or any other kind. Our experience over the years has naturally charted our antagonism to all kinds of totalitarianism—colonialism or Communist aggression. We intend adhering to our Constitution and the due processes of law and the orderly evolutionary developments of our people and our country. In our foreign relations with our neighbors and the world, our fundamental policy is the settlement of disputes in a peaceful way."

At the same time, India believes in a policy of "non-alignment" as the means through which it can best serve the interests of world peace. This means that India does not wish to join either of what it calls "two competing power blocs." India seeks to maintain friendly relations with all countries and to judge each issue that arises with an independent mind.

One reason for the differences which occasionally arise between India and the free Western nations is the Indians' deep-seated suspicion of anything they interpret as colonial imperialism. The memory of colonial exploitation understandably dies hard in Asia.

Many Indians feel it is up to the West to prove that it sincerely desires to meet Asia on a basis of understanding, friendship, and equality. The fact that no strings were attached to the U.S. grain loan or the technical cooperation programs, which began in 1950-51, helped to lessen Indian fears in this direction.

## *India and the U.N.*

Despite many pressing domestic problems of its own, India has taken a prominent role in international affairs in the belief that the solutions to domestic problems will be more speedily achieved in a less troubled world.

Peace is India's main preoccupation. In November 1952, in debate before the General Assembly, Mme. Pandit said: "The problem of paramount importance before this General Assembly is that of peace in Korea." In the Indian view, questions of colonial rule and of racial discrimination rank next in importance.

In its concern over world peace, Indian policy is one of strong support of the United Nations. President Rajendra Prasad phrased the nation's attitude in his U.N. Day statement last year:

"The United Nations provides a nucleus, however imperfect, round which . . . world conscience can grow. We in India have therefore tried to do our humble best to enable it to realize the mission which history and the collective will of mankind has placed on it. The United Nations cannot be said to have reached its true stature unless it becomes the effective and guiding conscience of the world."

For various reasons the Indian Government has not always voted with the majority in the U.N. On one issue of importance to the United States—the collective action in Korea—India voted initially in support of the U.N. position. Later it opposed the crossing of the 38th parallel and would not declare Communist China an aggressor. India maintained that this action would block the way to negotiations and serve no useful purpose. Many Indians believed China's intervention was based on a real, but mistaken, fear that the United Nations action was a threat to China's integrity.

Ever since the beginning of hostilities in Korea, India has been working for a peaceful settlement of that conflict. Its many efforts culminated in an Indian proposal to solve the Korean prisoner-of-war issue.

All the members of the U.N. except the Soviet bloc and China endorsed the Indian proposal. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, has called this proposal a "splendid, sincere effort for peace." The vast majority of U.N. countries regarded the Indian



plan as a "just and reasonable basis for an agreement" and thought it did much to clarify world thinking on the problem of peace in Korea.

### *Other Foreign Relations*

India, although a republic, has elected to remain a member of the Commonwealth and is taking an active part in the Colombo Plan, the Commonwealth's economic and technical assistance program for South and Southeast Asia. India's support of Indonesian independence won it a strong position among colonial peoples. On the other hand, it has not recognized the governments of the Associated States of Indochina.

Following independence there was a great amount of bitterness and suspicion between India and Pakistan. After 5 years of independence, however, the 2 nations are working together more closely. The issue remains the disposition of Kashmir, an important state on the northern boundaries of both countries. Although Kashmir's Maharaja acceded to India, Prime Minister Nehru announced that the fate of this state would ultimately be determined by a vote of the people themselves. The question of the arrangement for a plebiscite is still before the U.N. Security Council. Most recently the two Prime Ministers have discussed this and other problems affecting their countries.

When India recognized the Chinese Communist Government, a spokesman said that this action did not imply approval of the regime. Many Indians feel that it is not in the Chinese nature to be subservient to a foreign master and that Chinese nationalism will triumph eventually over international communism. Some Indians also believe that by encouraging wider contacts with Peiping they can strengthen the force of China's nationalism. The Chinese Communist "liberation" of Tibet, however, came as a shock. India had been led to believe that the question of Tibet's relation to China would be settled without recourse to force.

The Soviet Union had, until recently, been sympathetically regarded by many influential Indians. Looking north, they saw, at first, not a police state but a backward, agricultural society developing itself in spite of the rest of the world. These people admired the material strength which the Soviets built, but more recently there have

been increasing evidences of a great dislike for the ruthless methods and the denial of political and human rights which accompanied it.

The Communist position in India during World War II, Communist violence in postwar India, and the North Korean aggression has had an important effect on public opinion. India was disappointed by the U.S.S.R.'s rejection last year of the U.N. resolution on Korea, which India had sponsored.

### *The Communist Problem*

The realization that an Indian Communist owes his first allegiance to Moscow does not sit well with nationalistic India. This fact, coupled with Communist-led uprisings, has caused India to take stern measures at home.

The Indian Communist Party's growth is a development of the last 10 years. While the Party was outlawed from 1934 to 1942, the Communists operated indirectly through numerous "front" organizations. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the Indian Communist Party condemned the "imperialist war" of Great Britain. But when the Soviet "fatherland" was attacked in 1941, the Party, like Communists all over the world, swung around and backed the war effort. Its leaders were then released from prison.

This support of the war cost the Communist Party dearly among Indian Nationalists, who opposed participation without a guaranty of independence. Its recent strength comes primarily from the younger voters who are dissatisfied with present conditions in India.

Until 1948, the Communists sought power constitutionally. Between 1948 and 1951 they followed a line of revolutionary opposition. Violence was so widespread that the Government outlawed the Party in a number of areas, but it continued to function underground.

Until early 1951 India had more Communists in prison than any other country except perhaps the Soviet Union. Then the Party adopted a new policy of constitutional methods. Since that time the Indian Government has been willing to give the Communists a chance to live up to their words. A preventive detention law remains on the books, however, in case of necessity.

Travancore-Cochin, a state with a dense population of over 9 million, 30 percent of whom are



Christians, provides a good example of how the Communists operate. The caste system is strong there, and group cleavages are sharp. The region suffers from low wages, high cost of living, and widespread unemployment. Much of the existing employment is seasonal, and there is a large landless rural population. The people are acutely aware of their plight.

The Communists have made the most of this situation. They have made lavish promises, asserting that they alone have the solution. Communist propaganda comes in official Party organs, motion picture, economic and cultural exhibits, articles planted in newspapers and magazines, and cheap paper-covered books. American representatives in India have described these books as "the most effective Soviet propaganda in India."

### What We Are Doing in India

Our information program in India has been intensified to get the truth to the areas where Communist propaganda has been strong. Yet that is only one task of the United States Information Service. It also presents the true story of America—its policies, its people, its heritage, its ideals—to the people of the region. By giving Indians a picture of the full sweep of American life, we hope to achieve more complete understanding between our two countries.

To do the job, Usis employs the printing press, the camera, and the microphone and also participates in an exchange-of-persons program. Voice of America programs are beamed to India over Radio Ceylon. Eight excellent libraries are used by all classes of people. American news releases and pictures are widely reprinted in the Indian press. Thousands of persons see Usis films each month. The *American Reporter*, a weekly newspaper put out in English and in eight Indian languages, has a circulation of about 500,000.

A unique experiment has sent to India almost 500,000 pocket books made up into miniature libraries of 102 books each. Both fiction and non-fiction are included. These books give English-reading Indians, who make up a large group of the literate population, a chance to learn more about the United States.

The set includes such titles as Franklin's *Autobiography*, *David Harum*, *Life on the Mis-*

*issippi*, *This Is America*, *Walden*, *100 American Poems*, *Darkness at Noon*, as well as Dr. Benjamin Spock's volume on baby and child care, a well-thumbed book in countless American homes.

### Technical Cooperation

An information program needs to be backed up by policies and programs of interest and benefit to the people. Our Government is, therefore, cooperating in many fields to help India meet the challenge it faces.

Ambassador Allen has clearly stated how we feel about helping India to achieve its goals:

"India's problems are in a very real sense the world's problems, and many nations, recognizing this, are offering whatever help they can. The U.S. is in the forefront as regards material help and moral encouragement to India. We do not give our help as charity; on the contrary, our help has been in the nature of an investment in India's sovereignty and independence. We, and the rest of the free world, stand to receive rich dividends in strengthened democracy and in developing a strong spiritual bastion against the heartless and dangerous forces of materialism. I am confident that we will continue to offer our help and encouragement."

The largest and most comprehensive of all U.S. technical-assistance programs is in India. In January 1952, Prime Minister Nehru and former Ambassador Bowles concluded an agreement establishing an Indo-American Development Fund. This cooperative program is tailored to India's 5-year plan. The Fund is administered jointly by India and the United States.

We made available \$54 million to the Fund at the time of signing, and our Congress authorized an additional \$45.4 million in June 1952. India is contributing almost double this amount in rupees. Indians will do most of the planning and work connected with Indo-American Fund projects, but American technicians will assist in various capacities. Eleven projects agreed to by the two Governments are now under way.

One important project undertaken by the Fund is the community-development program. This is expected to boost India's food production and attack poverty, illness, and illiteracy in the villages. Seventy-four rural-urban development blocks have been set up throughout India to aid



about 7 million people in some 10,000 villages. Under the 5-year plan, assuming continued support from technical assistance and other agencies, India hopes to reach a third of its rural population through community development activities by about 1956.

In each development block, one central town will supply the surrounding area with agricultural extension, public health, educational, and similar services. Improved roads and schools, expanded irrigation facilities, sanitation and malaria control, and the development of rural industries are also envisaged. The projects will be financed by the Fund. As the investment is repaid to the Fund, other centers will be established.

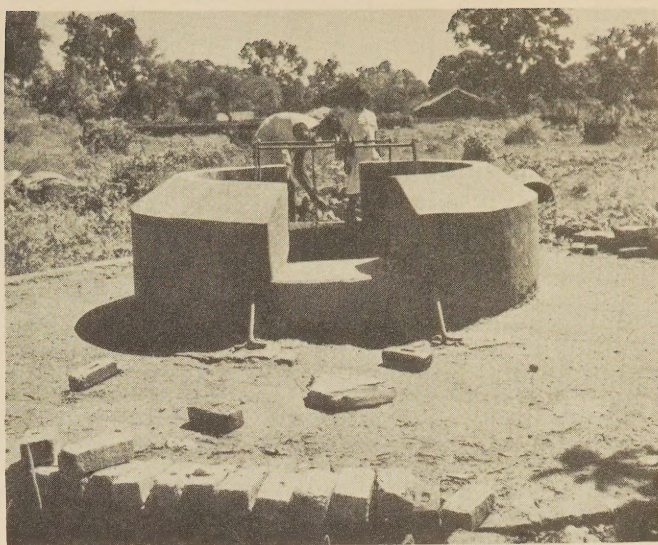
The community-development program is Indian in origin and execution. Successful pilot projects in the rural areas and displaced-persons centers at Etawah, Faridabad, Nilokheri, Fulia, and other places in North India have helped blaze the trail. They were used as models by the Fund for the larger program now under way.

One pilot project in rural development in the Etawah area of the United Provinces is the scene of a revolution in farming methods. This was brought about by the introduction of organized demonstrations of better agricultural techniques. Indian extension specialists, assisted by American technicians, focused on an area of 100 square miles and 79,000 people. They went into the fields to demonstrate, advise, and work. Simple steel-pointed plows, improved seed, and fertilizer were introduced. In 3 years, wheat yields on the co-operating farms were increased from 13 to 26 bushels an acre, potato yields from 119 to 245. The people trained in this project are now available to teach others.

For over 100 years malaria has been India's biggest health problem and is said to take a million lives annually. India has started a malaria-control program to protect about 75 million people by March 1954. Through our Government, we are cooperating with India in this field.

Other technical-assistance projects are concerned with medical education, industrial hygiene, and cancer control. Contracts have been signed with private American groups to do this work.

In addition to programs in agriculture, community development, and public health, technical-cooperation specialists are assisting in education



*This sanitary well gives pure water to villagers in a community-development block in Central Provinces.*

and child welfare, foundry techniques, flood control, and dam and hydroelectric development. American technicians are also engaged in the development of solid fuels, fertilizers, chemicals, and fisheries.

#### *Private U.S. Aid*

Private and international agencies also support the objectives of India's 5-year plan. Private American organizations are very active in India. For example, after a visit to India in 1951 by the former president of the Ford Foundation, Paul G. Hoffman, the Foundation agreed to support programs operated by Indians for the benefit of the Indian people. It has assisted in the establishment of 15 pilot community-development projects of the type planned by the Indo-American Fund. It is contributing to a training program for village agricultural extension workers, sending Indian extension leaders to the United States and Japan for study and assisting extension work in six agricultural colleges. The Foundation also helped in the construction of a community center for untouchables in New Delhi, to be maintained as a memorial to Gandhi.

The Rockefeller Foundation is operating medical, public health, and fellowship programs in India. An American chemical company recently helped to design and supervise the construction of Asia's largest fertilizer plant in Bihar State. Other projects in the fields of education, medicine,



social services, industrial training, and agriculture are operated by U.S. mission groups.

Other U.S. assistance reaches India through such international bodies as the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The World Health Organization (WHO) has sent experts from Greece in an effort to bring down the high malaria rate among infants. Another WHO project brought Scandinavian medical teams to fight tuberculosis, which takes nearly half a million lives each year. Two Nobel prize winners were included in a U.N. team of 15 scientists from 7 countries which has been in India exchanging the latest medical knowledge with Indian physicians. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, in collaboration with WHO, has contributed to such projects as maternal and child welfare and the construction of a DDT and penicillin plant.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, another U.N. agency, has made five loans totaling \$109.8 million to assist Indian development. The most recent—\$19.5 million for flood control, expanded electric-power capacity, and canals for irrigation and transportation—will be used to further the development of the Damodar River Valley. The project is near Calcutta and is similar in concept to our Tennessee Valley Authority.

The Bank had previously loaned \$18.5 million to develop power facilities in the Damodar Valley. Another recent loan—\$31.5 million to the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., a privately owned firm—will be used to increase blast-furnace and finished-steel capacity. Increased supplies of iron and steel are vital to the success of the Indian 5-year plan. Other IBRD loans were made for railway rehabilitation and agricultural machinery.

## India's Future

To accelerate its development program, India welcomes any aid that will not infringe upon its

sovereignty. It seeks cooperation, not domination. The United States Government can and does assist in many phases. But other things that India wants and needs may be more suitably undertaken with the aid of private organizations or international groups.

Speaking recently on the importance to us of India's attempts to build itself up, Ambassador Allen commented:

"We attach the greatest importance to the efforts which India is making to develop its economy and improve the lot of its people. If those efforts succeed, it will encourage peoples throughout Asia and fortify faith in democratic methods everywhere. If they do not succeed, the very foundations of the Indian Republic and of the Orient may be shaken. America's interest, in one sentence, is that India, which has achieved full sovereign status, shall retain that status completely, and that the faith which the vast majority of the Indian people have in democracy's ability to give them a better and fuller life be sustained and fortified."

To India time is precious. The issue of freedom versus communism may be settled during this decade.

American confidence in India and our respect for the country are being repaid by greater friendliness and faith in our policies. Our information program is bringing a clearer picture of American life to many Indians. Our increased attention and interest in India—and all of Asia—have been noted by the Indian people.

We can help India succeed in the methods of democracy, proving that these methods can be more effective in solving Asia's problems than the much-publicized "Yenan way" of Red China. This is no easy task. Yet understanding and cooperation in these areas must be made the key to the Asian door to world peace. Already in India we can see farther down the road to peace. Working together, India and the United States have the opportunity to move along this road. Together, we can strengthen the frontiers of the free world.

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